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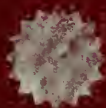
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NOTES ON THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF
THREE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY
ENGLISH BOOKS CONNECTED
WITH LONDON HOSPITALS

BY

SIR D'ARCY POWER, K.B.E., F.R.C.S. (ENG.), F.S.A.

READ BEFORE THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

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NOTES ON THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THREE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH BOOKS CONNECTED WITH LONDON HOSPITALS

BY SIR D'ARCY POWER, K.B.E., F.R.C.S. (ENG.), F.S.A.¹

THE middle of the sixteenth century witnessed a revolution in the treatment of the sick poor in London, and produced a number of books written by men who had the interest of surgery at heart and who strove to raise their calling from a trade to a profession. Vicary, Gale, Clowes, Banester, Read, and Maister Peter Lowe wrote books which are still a joy to read. Their language is charming, their invective is fierce, their poetry is vile, but they give so lively a picture of the times in which they lived that many a profitable hour may still be spent in their company.

The object of the Bibliographical Society, however, is Bibliography, so I leave this band of writers and will ask you to consider three books whose history has not yet been completely elucidated.

¹ Read before the Bibliographical Society of London, 21 March 1921.

(i) *The Order of the Hospitalls*

I will begin with this little duodecimo, the title-page of which runs :

THE ORDER | Of the Hospitalls of K. Henry | the viiiith and K. Ed-
ward the vith,

viz. { St. Bartholomew's.
Christ's.
Bridewell.
St. Thomas's.

By the Maior, Cominaltie, and Ci-tizens of London, Governours of | the Possessions, Revenues and | Goods of the sayd Hospitalls, | 1557.

The book is in black letter and has neither the name nor the place of the printer. The copy here shown has been re-backed and re-labelled, but the leather covering the sides is original. The edges of the leaves and the edges of the leather binding are gilded, and there is marbled paper at each end of the volume.

The book itself consists of 57 leaves and 113 pages. The paper is of good quality, but it is badly discoloured throughout. Written in the bold hand of a clerk on the reverse of the title-page is the inscription: 'To the Right Worpth. Sr. Humphry Edwin Kn^t. and Alderman, Governor of Christ's Hospth.' The book was also in the possession of a Governor of St. Bartholomew's Hospital in 1809. It contains his summons to attend at the Blue-coat School on St. Matthew's Day and go 'from thence to Christ Church to hear a sermon 'and afterwards to hear the Oration in the great Hall 'according to ancient Custom.

'NB. It is particularly requested that you take a Green 'Staff, as a Governor of this Hospital, upon entering the 'Great Hall'.

In spite of the date and the type I have always thought there was something wrong about the book, and I felt about it as the undergraduate did when he wrote :

‘ I do not like thee, Dr. Fell,
The reason why I cannot tell;
But this I know, and know full well,
I do not like thee, Dr. Fell.’

So I have brought it here this afternoon for your inspection with such facts as I have been able to gather, that you may sit in judgement upon it, and, I fear, damn it as an impostor.

The book contains the rules which the citizens of London desired should govern the Charities which had been placed under their control after the upheaval in the middle of the sixteenth century. It declares how many governors shall be elected; the manner in which they shall be chosen; the length of time they shall serve and the charge to be given to them; the manner of conducting the Courts and of appointing the Officers; the duties of the Officers, and many other details, serviceable and necessary at the time, but of no interest to us at present.

The first notice of the Orders occurs in the Repertories at the Guildhall, where, under the date 1557, 28th Sept., 4 & 5 Ph. & Mary, it appears that the ‘ Court of Aldermen ‘ agreed that all the articles and ordinances then read concerning the government and ordering of the Poor in West ‘ Smithfield and the hospitals of the City, lately devised by ‘ S[i]r Martin Bowes and S[i]r Rowland Hill, knights, and ‘ diverse other aldermen and commoners of this city being ‘ Governours and Surveyors at that present of the said house ‘ should be entered of record and from thenceforth put in ‘ due execution ’.

The Order is headed ‘ Offley, Maior ’, and Sir Thomas Offley was Mayor in 1556-7.


The ‘ Memoranda, References, and Documents relating to The Royal Hospitals of the City of London ’, compiled by Mr. James Francis Firth, the Town Clerk, and issued by the Court of Common Council in 1836, state that ‘ these articles

'and ordinances do not appear to be entered of record but 'were printed in 1557 under the title "The Order of the 'Hospitalls", etc.' There is no doubt that the Orders were duly made in 1557, and it is a little remarkable that they should never have been transcribed in the archives of the City. They were certainly circulated to the four Royal Hospitals, for there is plenty of evidence to show that they were known to, and acted on, by the governing bodies of these charities.

The next notice of the Orders is in Strype's edition of Stow's *Survey* (Lond. 1754, vol. i, p. 195), where it is stated that the Orders 'were printed in a little book in the time of Mr. Goodfellow, Towne Clerk'. This is amplified by Gough (*British Topography*, Lond. 1780, vol. i, p. 639) as follows: 'the Order of the Hospitalls, etc., since reprinted 'in the old character and size at the expence of Mr. Secretary 'Pepys. O.' Mr. Bernard Kettle, of the Guildhall Library, tells me that O. is William Oldys, the antiquary (1696-1761). The statement that a reprint was made at the expense of Mr. Secretary Pepys is repeated by Ames in Herbert's edition (p. 1596), and by Lowndes (p. 1124). I also find in Lowndes that the book has fetched the following prices at sales: Nassau, pt. i, 2469, £1. 18s.; Strettell, 1057, 5s.; Towneley, pt. i, 563, 7s. 6d.; Inglis, 1076, 8s.

It is generally assumed, therefore, that there are two editions of the Orders, the one printed in 1557; the other, a facsimile printed at a much later date. I have examined the various copies of the book which are accessible to see in what respects they agree or differ, taking my own as a standard. The British Museum and the Bodleian Libraries have each two copies; the Guildhall Library, the Society of Antiquaries, Christ's Hospital, the Pepysian Library at Cambridge, the Medico-Chirurgical Society at Bristol, and the Surgeon-General's Library at Washington have one copy apiece.

Sir William Osler's library has this copy, which Lady Osler kindly allows me to show you, and I have a copy. Twelve copies of the book are thus available for comparison, and I have particulars of all of them. They are printed on similar paper, and in every case the paper is discoloured as it is in these two copies. In each case there are three vertical chain lines on a page, but it is only in my own copy and in the two copies in the Bodleian that there is any watermark. In my own copy there is a device on the third fly-leaf in front and in the last fly-leaf at the end. It is in the nature of a shield with a double border. Miss Anderson has kindly examined the two copies in the Bodleian and she writes: 'The volumes ' seem to me to agree in watermarks. On one page I think ' I trace COME, and in the corresponding leaf of the gathering ' NY, the intermediate letters are in the binding and I could ' not distinguish them. The more common watermark is ' something like a horn on an ornamental shield but, as it is ' everywhere close in to the binding, and besides cut at the ' top, it is not very easy to be definite. Ordinarily the pages ' have three vertical lines each. 8° Rawl. 586* has on the ' second flyleaf at the beginning as watermark a portion of ' a fleur-de-lys enclosed in a shield—the upper portion is cut ' away; the end flyleaf has as watermark a crown over a ' shield, but the shield is almost entirely cut away as is also ' part of the crown.

' 8° Rawl. 586** has on flyleaf two, what seems to be the ' remains of  but the top line of the T is cut away. All ' the watermarks are close into the binding and have been ' cut by the binder.' None of the other copies that I have examined have any watermarks.

Nearly every copy has an inscription similar to the one I show you. It is written in a bold text hand, is on the reverse of the title-page, and states that the book has been presented

to an alderman or Governor of Christ's Hospital about the end of the seventeenth century.

All the copies that I have seen appear to me to be part of one issue, which was put into circulation at the end of the seventeenth century. It is probable, therefore, that they are all examples of what Oldys called the Pepys reprint. I have not found a single example of any earlier edition. It seems almost certain that no edition was printed in 1557, but that the Christ's Hospital authorities printed directly from a manuscript copy, possibly, as tradition states, at the expense of Mr. Samuel Pepys. Moreover, the manuscript from which the book was printed had only recently come into the possession of the Blue-coat School, for the Order beginning 'Offley, Maior', is signed 'Goodfellow', whereas if it had been printed from the original it would have been signed 'Blackwell'. William Blackwell was Town Clerk from 1541 to 1570; John Goodfellow was Town Clerk from 1690 to 1700. The book was printed, therefore, between 1690 and 1700. This is corroborated by the inscription in my copy, which shows that it belonged to Sir Humphry Edwin. Edwin was a Skinner and a Barber-Surgeon who was alderman of the Tower Ward. He was Master of the Barber-Surgeons Company in 1686, and served the office of Sheriff in the same year. He was knighted in 1687 and was Mayor in 1697.

Having thus fixed the approximate date I set to work to discover whether there was any special reason for printing *The Order of the Hospitalles* at the end of the seventeenth century when they had remained so long in manuscript. I found that in 1681 the Court of Aldermen made a determined effort to regain their ancient jurisdiction over the four Royal Hospitals, which had practically lapsed from disuse. On 14 February 1681 'a reference was made to the presidents of 'the four hospitals and four aldermen to inquire into and 'examine the ancient method of managing the hospitals and

‘appointing governors’. The result of the inquiry was to show conclusively that the Court of Aldermen had jurisdiction over the Hospitals, but it was found difficult to enforce it—St. Bartholomew’s Hospital proving especially refractory—and the dispute dragged on for several years.

On 28 October 1690 ‘the Clerk of Christ’s Hospital was ordered by that day seven-night to deliver an account in writing how, and in what manner, the Governors of that Hospital were anciently nominated and appointed, and when and how the same came to be altered’. On 10 March 1690–1, the Committee reported that ‘by an act of Common Council 5th of August, 4th and 5th Ph. & Mar. it was ordained that the Lord Mayor for the time being and such of the Aldermen, commonalty and citizens as should be appointed by the Mayor and Court of Aldermen for the time being to be governors of the possessions, etc., and their successors for evermore (and gave authority to them to make statutes and ordinances for well governing the hospitals, and to nominate, appoint, make, create, and ordain such and so many officers, ministers, and governors under them in the said hospitals as shall be thought meet by their discretions, to the intent the poor therein may be well and honestly provided for).

‘That pursuant to that act certain ordinances were made by the Court of Aldermen for the government of the hospitals and how the governors should be chosen . . . according to which Order the new governors were presented to and approved by the Court of Aldermen till the year 1615. That although the entry of confirmation of new governors by the Court of Aldermen was omitted for many years . . . the Mayor and Aldermen were summoned.’

The result of the inquiry which evidently turned upon the consideration of the ‘Order of the Hospitalls’ was satisfactory, for ‘The Committee did not find any authority for

‘altering the way of election or for electing other than
‘citizens for the presidents and governors of the hospitals or
‘any or either of them. The report was well liked, approved
‘and ordered to be entered on the Repertory.’ This appears
to have settled the matter, for the Court of Aldermen resumed
its authority and the hospitals acquiesced.

The printing of *The Order of the Hospitalls* seems to be the immediate outcome of this struggle. It must have been necessary for all the governors of the hospitals who took an active interest in them to study the Orders, which had hitherto existed only in manuscript. A new copy was therefore obtained from the Guildhall and its authenticity was guaranteed by the signature of the Town Clerk. It was printed and a sufficient number of copies were struck off for the use of the governors. The edition was of a considerable size. It was not put on sale, but a copy was probably given to each governor and to each member of the Court of Aldermen.

The conditions which led to the active interference of Mr. Pepys in the affairs of the Blue-coat School at the end of the seventeenth century are well known, and are clearly set out by the Bishop of Worcester in his *Annals of Christ's Hospital*. The school passed through a difficult period during the Treasurership of Nathaniel Hawes from 1683 to 1699, when there was a general relaxation of discipline. Mr. Pepys, with his accustomed energy, set himself to improve the administration, having already obtained a voice in the management by securing a grant of public money for the newly established Mathematical School. This school was originally intended to train officers for the King's ships and, as Secretary of the Admiralty, Pepys was directly interested in its success. It is quite possible, therefore, that Pepys paid for the printing of *The Order of the Hospitalls*, though I am informed that there is no documentary evidence of the fact in the Christ's Hospital records.

The name of the printer is not given, but a few years later Mr. Edward Brewster bought and gave to the use of the Blue-coat School a book called *Synopsis Algebraica*. In 1708 it was reported that, the first impression being now almost spent, the Committee of Christ's Hospital ordered Mr. Newton and Mr. Dutton, the master of the new Mathematical School, to revise and correct the book, and translate it into English, in order to have the same reprinted and made of more general and public use. It was hoped that 'the advantage arising therefrom may defray the charge of the impression'.

The Committee ordered 750 copies in Latin and 1,000 in English. Samuel Cobb, the undermaster, received ten guineas for his translation, and it was arranged to sell the book to three specified booksellers at 2s. 6d. a copy in sheets.

I thought that this information might help to elucidate the publisher of *The Order of the Hospitalls*, so I visited the British Museum and obtained 'A Synopsis of Algebra being the posthumous work of Joannes Alexander of Bern in Swisserland to which is added an Appendix by Humphry Dutton. For the use of the two mathematicall Schools in Christ's Hospital, London. Done from the Latin by Samm. Cobb M.A. London. Printed for the Hospital by J. Barber and are to be sold by S. Keble and D. Tooke in Fleet St. and D. Midwinter in St. Paul's Churchyard. MDCCIX.'

The Appendix has on the title-page: 'London, Printed by J. Barber, Printer to the said Hospital. MDCCIX.' It appears from this that the Blue-coat School had its own printer twenty years after the publication of *The Order of the Hospitalls*. I looked through the volume, but could find no paper mark, and I am not sufficiently skilled to say whether the type used in printing *The Order of the Hospitalls* bears any relation to that used by J. Barber.

The Order of the Hospitalls is reprinted in full both in the

1837 and 1863 editions of *Memoranda, References and Documents relating to the Royal Hospitals*: it is summarized in Sir Norman Moore's *History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*.

(ii) *Vicary's Anatomy of Man*

The second book to which I wish to draw your attention is *Vicary's Anatomy of Man*, as there is also a little bibliographical difficulty connected with it. The first edition of which we have certain knowledge is a 12mo which was entered at Stationers' Hall in 1577 with the following heading:

Tricesimo die Januarii (1577)

Henry Bamforde { Lyncensed unto him. 'A briefe Traytise
of the Anatomye of Man's Bodye.' xiid and
a copie.

The title-page, which has an ornamental border, reads:

A profitable Trea-tise of the Anatomie | of mans body: | Compyled by that
excel-lent Chirurgion, M. Tho-mas Vicary, Esquire, Seriaunt | Chirurgion
to King Henry the | eyght, to king Edward the .vj. to | Queene Mary, and to
our most | gracious Soueraigne Lady | Queene Elizabeth, and also | cheefe
Chirurgion of .S. | Bartholomewes | Hospital. | Which work is newly reuyued, |
corrected, and published by the | Chirurgions of the same | Hospital now
beeing. | An. 1577. | ¶ Imprinted at London, by | Henry Bamforde.

This title-page makes two definite statements: first, that the book was compiled, not written by Thomas Vicary; secondly, that it was revived, i.e. revised, after his death by the surgeons who had been his colleagues at St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Clearly, therefore, the book was attributed to Vicary by those who had first-hand knowledge of his work. There must have been some previous copy from which this edition was revised, and Aikin, in his *Biographical Memoirs of Medicine in Great Britain*, published in 1780, says of Vicary: 'the name of this person deserves recording as the 'author of the first anatomical work written in the English 'language. . . . The title of his work is "A Treasure for English-

‘men containing the Anatomie of Man’s Body’, printed ‘London 1548’. No trace of this book has been found in spite of a diligent search by many persons extending over many years.

Dr. Frank Payne made a critical examination of the book as it was revised in 1577 (the *British Medical Journal*, 1896, vol. i), and showed conclusively that it was an abridgement of a manuscript which was then in his possession, and which I have seen, the work of an English surgeon whose personality is clearly displayed though his name is not given, and it is in the English language. The date of composition is given in the text as the year of our Lord 1392, but the manuscript itself was probably written about a century later. Vicary’s *Anatomy* is practically a compilation from this manuscript. He omits a great deal and abbreviates a great deal, for his treatise is not more than half as long as his copy. The quotations from ancient writers are given very loosely and inaccurately by Vicary, but they are the same as those given fully in the manuscript. Dr. Payne therefore came to the conclusion that Vicary was in possession of a copy of this treatise, of which he made an abridgement using the same words, sometimes not understanding them, and brought it out as his own; or alternatively, as one does not like to think of Vicary as an actual literary impostor and there is another possibility, that Vicary did not profess to be the author. ‘The only ‘authentically known printed edition was brought out,’ says Dr. Payne, ‘fifteen years after his death by his colleagues ‘at St. Bartholomew’s Hospital, and they may have found ‘a manuscript tract which they regarded as Vicary’s, though ‘he had never laid claim to it or published it as his. In ‘any case the real author or compiler was our anonymous ‘friend of the fourteenth century, about whom I wish I knew ‘more. His book is, I think, interesting as an example of the ‘medical language of the time. Vicary’s book is not really an

‘example of the language of his time, his nomenclature being ‘quite out of date, though the spelling and diction are ‘modernized.’ I am glad to be able to take the matter a step backwards and so clear my predecessor, Vicary, of the suspicion of literary forgery, and, at the same time, show that there is some truth in both Dr. Payne’s hypotheses.

John Halle, a distinguished surgeon, who lived at Maidstone from his birth in 1529 to his death in 1568, was a younger contemporary of Vicary and one of his personal friends. In 1565 Halle produced an edition of Lanfrank’s *Surgery*, and he thus describes his treatment of the work of that great Italian surgeon, who died in 1306: ‘I dedicate this excellent ‘compendious worke, called “Chirurgia parua Lanfranci”, ‘. . . which was translated out of Frenche into the olde ‘Saxony englishe, about twoo hundred yeres past. Which ‘I haue nowe not only reduced to our vsuall speache, by ‘changyng or newe translating suche wordes, as nowe be ‘inueterate, and growne out of knowledge by processe of ‘tyme, but also conferred my labours in this behalf with ‘other copies both in Frenche and latin; namely with ‘maister Bacter, for his latine copie and Symon Hudie for his ‘french copie, and other English copies; of the which I had ‘one of John Chamber, and another of John Yates both very ‘auncient, with other mo: whose good helpe hath not a ‘little farthered me in these things, to the intent that it ‘might perfectly come forth to a publique profite which to ‘doe I was constreigned, not only because I would not truste ‘too muche to myne owne rude iudgement: but also that ‘by the authoritie of dyuers men of knowledge, this excellent ‘worke (as it is worthy) may the more effectually be alowed ‘and accepted.’

Halle also takes back the story of Vicary’s *Anatomy* to a time antecedent to the edition of 1577, for he says in the prologue to his first treatise of *Anatomy*, which is dated 1565, that he

is somewhat encouraged to publish it 'by the example of 'good maister Vicarie, late Sargeante chyrurgien to the 'queenes highness; who was the firste that euer wrote a 'treatyse of Anatomye in English (to the profite of his 'brethren chirurgiens and the helpe of younge studentes) 'as farre as I can learne'.

In 1588 John Read, an energetic surgeon living at Gloucester, published a treatise on Fistula which had been written by John of Arderne in 1376, and, as in the case of Vicary and Halle, he used a fifteenth-century English translation, though he also had an earlier Latin version before him, because he inserts a few lines which had been accidentally omitted in the English version.

Several deductions can be made from these facts. There is no doubt that Vicary compiled his treatise on anatomy and issued it with the full knowledge that it was already out of date, because he thought it would be useful to the students of the United Company of Barbers and Surgeons, which had been founded in 1540. There is little doubt that he pursued and perhaps originated the plan which Halle imitated. He borrowed a manuscript and copied it with such alterations as his limited knowledge of anatomy allowed. He did not know, or did not think it worth while to incorporate, the work of Vesalius or even of Geminus, who was one of his colleagues, as surgeon to King Edward the Sixth. Halle did his compilation more thoroughly, for he compared several manuscripts; Vicary condensed and compiled from a single manuscript; Read merely copied his original without change. The surgeons at this time seemed to have been in the same frame of mind as the Oxford graduates in the early Tractarian days, when Pusey and Newman set their pupils to work to edit the Fathers of the Church.

Vicary's *Anatomy*, however, served its purpose, for it remained in print until 1651, and the following editions appeared:

86 *Notes on the Bibliography of three Sixteenth-century*

	<i>Edition.</i>	<i>Publisher or Printer.</i>
(1)	During the lifetime of Vicary.	? Publisher.
(2)	1577 in 12mo . . .	Henry Bamforde.
(3)	1586 ,, 4to . . .	J. Windet for John Perin.
(4)	1587 ,, ,, . . .	George Robinson for John Perin.
(5)	1596 ,, ,, . . .	T. Creede.
(6)	1599 ,, ,, . . .	T. Creede.
(7)	1613 ,, ,, Called 6thly. .	Thomas Creede.
(8)	1626 ,, ,, ,, 7thly. .	B. Alsop and T. Faucet.
(9)	1633 ,, ,, ,, 8thly. .	Bar. Alsop & Tho. Fawcet.
(10)	1641 ,, ,, ,, 9thly. .	B. Alsop and T. Fawcet.
(11)	1651 ,, 12mo . . .	T. Fawcet. Sold by J. Nuthall.
(12)	1888 ,, 8vo . . .	N. Truebner & Co.

The title-page in the 1586 and subsequent editions until 1641 runs :

The | Englishe-|mans Treasvre, | or Treasor For | Englishmen; | With
the true Anatomye of Mans | Body, Compiled by that excellent | chirurgeon
Maister Thomas Vicary | Esquire Sergeante Chirurgeon to King | Henry the 8.
To King Edward the 6. | To Queene Mary. And to our | Soueraigne Lady
Queene | Elizabeth. | And also cheefe Chirurgeon to S. Bartholo-|mewes
hospitall. | Whereunto are annexed many secrets appertaining to Chirur-|
gery, with diuers excellent approued Remedies for all diseases the | which are
in man or woman, with emplasters of speciall cure | with other potions
and drincks approued in Phisike. | Also the rare treasor of the English Bathes.
Written by | William Turner, Doctor in Phisicke. | Gathered and set forth
for the benefit of his friendes and | countrimen in England by William Bremer,
Practi-|tioner in Phisicke and Chirurgery. | (Ornament.) | At London, |
¶ Imprinted by Iohn VVindet for Iohn Perin | dwelling in Paules Church-yard
at the signe of the Angell, | and are there to be sold. | 1586.

This title-page—except for the change of the printer's name and the date—remained until the 1613 edition, when a section was added of 'Oynments and Plaisters; | with
' especiall and approved remedies for the Plague, and | Pesti-
' lent Fever, which never came to light before this | present;
' By W. B. Practitioner in Physicke | and Chyrurgerie'.

W. B. was W. Boraston of Salop. This edition was further enriched by a whole plate engraving of a skeleton moralizing with a tomb in the background and 'Sic transit gloria Mundi' as a legend. The 1641 edition also has a plate of the distribution of the veins.

The book had really fulfilled its purpose, but it was thought worth while to publish it once again in a smaller form and with an altered title. Accordingly in 1651 this 12mo appeared with the title-page in red and black inside a ruled border.

The | Surgions | Directorie | for | Young Practitioners, | in [respect of ?] Wounds, and Cures, &c., | shewing the Excellencie of divers Secrets | belonging to that noble Art and | Myserie. | Very usefull in these Times upon any | sodaine Accidents. | And may well serve, | As a Noble Exercise for Gentle-| women, and others; who desire Science in | Medicine and Surgery, for a | generall good |

Divided into X Parts. | (Whose Contents follow in the next Page.) Written by T. Vicary Esquire, Chyrurgion | to Hen 8. Edw 6. Q Mary. Q. Eliz. |

London, | Printed by T. Fawcet dwelling in Shoo-|Lane, at the Signe of the Dolphin. 1651 | And are to be sold by J. Nuthall at his Shop in | Flete-|street at the signe of Hercules Pillers.

The edition of 1888 is published by the Early English Text Society, and was edited by Dr. F. J. Furnivall and his son Percy Furnivall, using the text of the 1577 edition.

The *Englishman's Treasure* thus had a long career, but it probably owed its sale to the number of receipts it contained and not to the *Anatomy*, which was long out of date when the book first appeared. Indeed as showing how little attention was paid by the successive editors it may be noted that the mistranslation which appears on page 44 of the 1586 edition is unchanged in the 1651 edition [p. 66]. The passage runs : 'The seconde portion of the guttes is called jejunium, for ' he is evermore emptie, for to him lyeth evermore the chest ' of the Gal beating him sore, and draweth forth of him al ' the drosse, and cleanseth him cleane.' This is a misreading of the manuscript, which has 'Biting him sore', referring to the supposed irritant properties of the bile.

I feel that I have done my duty to Thomas Vicary by showing that he was not a purloiner of other men's brains, but that the *Anatomy* was issued originally as part of a scheme to go back to old writers at a time when surgery was just

beginning to take a new lease of life after the dead period of the Wars of the Roses.

(iii) *The Ordre of the Hospital of S. Bartholomewes in West-Smythfelde in London.*

The third book I wish to speak about is a small book of Orders issued in 1552 for the government of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. The title-page reads :

The Ordre of | the Hospital of .S. Bar-|tholomewes in West-|Smythfelde
in | London. | ¶i. Epist. John, ii Chap. | He that sayeth he walketh in the
lyght, and hateth his brother, came neuer as yet in the lyght. But | he that
loueth his brother, he dwel-|leth in the lyght. | Londini | Anno | 1552.

It presents few points of bibliographical interest, but, such as they are, it is as well to place them on record. The colophon of the 1552 edition states that the book was 'imprinted at London by Ry|charde Grafton, Printer to the | Kynges 'maiestie. | Cum priuilegio ad imprimen-|dum solum'. Bound up with it is a pamphlet containing the 'Orders taken 'and Enacted for Orphans with their porcions. Anno. 'MDLI'; an Order about Carts and another on Dues for Tythes.

Strype, in his edition of Stow, says that it was reprinted in 1580, but this appears to be an error. It was certainly reprinted as a quarto in 1652 under the title 'Orders and Ordinances 'for the better government of the Hospitall of Bartholomew 'the lesse'. 'As also Orders enacted for Orphans and their 'portions MDLXXX. Together with a Briefe Discourse of 'the laudable Customes of London. London, Printed by 'James Flesher, Printer to that Honourable City 1652.' This reprint is abridged, as the prayers are omitted, since the Church of England was in abeyance during the Commonwealth. The abridged reprint appears in full in Strype's edition of Stow (Lond. 1720. Vol. ii, Book 6, Appendix, p. 51). In 1884 Mr. Marrant Baker—a surgeon to St. Bartholomew's

Hospital—reprinted the 1652 edition with a prefatory note in *The St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports* (vol. xx, 1884). In 1885 he caused some separate copies to be struck off in quarto and prefixed a typo-etching of an engraving of the Hospital in 1720. This reprint is in special type and has the ornaments copied from the 1652 edition. The ornament on page 35 has been inadvertently transposed by the printer. In 1885 Mr. Morratt Baker issued privately an abstract of *The Orders and Ordinances* in a quarto volume with the heading 'The Two foundations of St. Bartholomew's Hospital A. D. 1123 and A. D. 1546'. This volume has an engraving of Rahere's tomb copied from that in the *Vetusta Monumenta* and bears the imprint of Smith, Elder & Co. Fourteen copies were struck off in folio size.

The 1552 edition was reprinted in full by Dr. F. J. Furnivall and Mr. Percy Furnivall as an appendix to their edition of Vicary's *Anatomy* in the Early English Text Society's Publications, Lond. 1888. An abstract of the 1552 edition is also given by Sir Norman Moore in his *History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital* (vol. ii, 1918, p. 164). The copy of this little book now in the British Museum belonged, says Sir Norman Moore, to King Edward VI. It is mentioned by J. G. Nichols, *Literary Remains of King Edward VI*, Roxburghe Club, 1857. The volume, when Mr. Nichols wrote, seems to have had its original binding stamped with 'E. vi. R.' and roses and crowns. This was no doubt decayed, as the book now has a modern binding. Sir Norman Moore further notes that 'on the title-page of "The Ordre" is written 'Y. 24. 2, which may perhaps be the pressmark of the Royal 'Library'.

The preface of the 1552 edition gives the following account of the genesis of the book. It states that in five years, after the foundation of the Hospital, 'there haue bene healed of 'the Pocques, Fistules, filthie Blaynes and Sores, to the

‘ nombre of .viiiij. hundred, and thence saufe deliuered, that
 ‘ other hauyng nede myghte entre in their roume; Beside
 ‘ eyght skore and .xii. that haue there forsaken this life, in
 ‘ their intollerable miseris and griefes, whiche elles might
 ‘ haue died, and stoncke in the iyes & noses of the Citie,
 ‘ if thys place had not vouchedsaufe to become a poompe
 ‘ alone, to ease a commune abhorryng’. The citizens that had
 the care of the Hospital were exclaimed against even in the
 pulpits, as if they had wronged this charity by the mistaken
 supposition that this Hospital should have made a general
 sweep of all the poor and afflicted, and so for their care the
 governors were rewarded with nothing but open detraction.

Upon this slander so widely spread ‘ It is thought good to
 ‘ the Lord Mayour of thys Citie of London, as chief patrone
 ‘ and gouernour of this Hospitall, in the name of the Citie, to
 ‘ publishe at this present the officers and ordres by hym
 ‘ appointed and from time to tyme practysed and vsed by
 ‘ twelue of the Citizeins moste auncient, in their courses, . . .
 ‘ partly for the staye and redresse of such slaundre and partly
 ‘ for that it myght be an open wyttness, and knowledge vnto
 ‘ all men, howe thynges are administred there & by whom’,
 and likewise to excite all well-disposed persons more and more
 to bestow their charity here.

The Orders are quite interesting and must have been
 extremely well thought out, for with a few minor changes
 and necessary additions they regulate the working of the
 Hospital to this day. Each officer of the Hospital still receives
 a Charge or definition of his duties when he is first appointed,
 and each Charge, in the case of the subordinate officials, con-
 cludes with the words: ‘ This is your charge and office with
 ‘ the which ye have to do and not with any other thing,
 ‘ neither with any other office in this house. But if you shall
 ‘ perceive at any time any thing done by any officer or other
 ‘ person of this house that shall be unprofitable thereunto,

‘ or that may be occasion of any disorder, or shall engender
‘ slander to the same that ye then declare it to the Treasurer
‘ or Almoners or to one of them and no farther to meddle
‘ therein.’ I received this injunction so frequently in the
course of my service at the Hospital that I was quite pleased
to be told, when I reached the highest ranks, that it was part
of my duty to see that the affairs of the Hospital were well
ordered and managed.

The 1552 edition of the Orders contains the daily service,
which is omitted in all the reissues except Dr. Furnivall’s.
The regulations order ‘ A daily service for the poore. At
‘ the Houre of eyght of the Clocke in the mornyng, and
‘ .iiij. of the clock at the afternoone, throughout the whole
‘ yeare, there shal a bel be rong the space of halfe a quarter
‘ of an houre, and immediately upon the seassyng of the
‘ bell, (the poore liyng in their beddes that cannot aryse ; &
‘ kneling on their knees that can aryse in euery warde, as
‘ their beddes stande,) they shal by course, as many as can
‘ rede, begyn these praiers folowyng. And after that the
‘ partie, whose course it shalbe, hath begon, all the rest in
‘ the warde shal folow and aunswere, vpon paine to be dis-
‘ missed out of the house. And thryse in the weke, that is to
‘ saie, Sondaie, Wedensdaie and Fridaie, they shal saie the
‘ letany in maner and forme as it is [at] thende of this booke.
‘ The minister shal begyn and the rest shal folowe.’

The morning service was of considerable length. It began
with the Lord’s Prayer and responses ; two psalms ; an
anthem ; a third psalm ; the lesson ; the Benedicite ; the
Kyrie ; the Creed ; more responses and prayers for the King,
the Governors of the Hospital, and the sick poor themselves.

The afternoon prayers were no shorter ; they consisted
of the Lord’s Prayer and responses ; the 86th and the 96th
psalm ; the lesson and the 57th psalm with the Kyrie and
‘ all the suffrages and Collectes vsed in the mornyng praiier ’.

There was also 'The Euensong praier at .vii. of the clock at nyght', consisting of the Lord's Prayer, responses, the 121st psalm, and a collect. The day's prayers ended with the words: 'God saue our souereigne lorde the kyng, al the Gouvernours of this house & the holie chirche vniversal and graunt vs peace in Christ and grace for euer. Amen!'

These prayers must have taken up a considerable portion of each day, and the minister and his staff were not overpaid, as appears from the entry, 'To the ministers of the church within the Hospitall that is to saie to a Vicare, a clerck & a sextein . . . xxiii.l. vi.s. viii.d.' Although the prayers were omitted in editions subsequent to the original, all the reissues contain a passport which was in common form and was given to every patient of the Hospital who came from a distance to enable him to get home safely and without molestation from the authorities. It runs:

A PASSEPORT to be deliuered to the Poore. To all Maiours, Bailieffs, Constables &c. Know ye, that A.B., tailleur, borne in the towne of S.T. in the countie of Northampton, beyng cured of his disease in the Hospital of St. Bartholomews in West smithfield in London, and from thence deliured the .xiii. daie of August, in the syxt yeare of the Reigne, &c. hath charge by vs, A.B.C. the gouernours of the same, to repaire within days next ensuyng the date herof, to his sayd place of natiuitie, or to Westhandfield the place of his last abode, and there to exhibite this present passeport to the head officer, or officers, in either of the places appointed, that they maie take further order for his demeanour.

Sir Norman Moore (op. cit., vol. ii, p. 182) says 'the carriers to Northamptonshire started from the Ram in Smithfield and the proximity of this Inn to the Hospital gate may explain why that county chances to be mentioned in the passport'.

There is one Order which is of especial interest, for to it we owe the unbroken series of records which are in the possession of the Hospital. It is:

An Order for the saufe keyng of the evidences and writeinges apperteyning to the Hospitall. There shall one fayre and substanciall chest be provided and

the same be set in the moste conuenient and surest place of the house the which shal haue .iiii. seueral lockes and iii keyes, whereof the President alwaies to haue one, & the Treasurer one and a Commoner appointed by the whole house to haue the thirde. And it shal not be lafull to any of the Gouvernours to haue any specialtie, evidence or wrytyng out of the said chest, neither any other persone, to cary any of them out of the house (no, though it be for the affaires of the said house) but onlic a copie therof which shalbe taken in the presence of the .iiii. persones aboue named, that haue the keyes & the original forthwith to be locked up agayne.

The books were ordered to be kept by 'The Renter Clerk'. They were a Repertory, a book of Survey, a book of Accounts, and a Journal.

And first you shall note that before euery of these Bookes ye must haue a Calendre, into the whiche ye may entre, by order of letters of the A.B.C. all proper names & matters that shall be conteyned in euery of them. And for the better accomplishyng hereof, ye shall, with your penne, in the heade of the lefe, nombre the pages of euery lefe, in euery of these bookes, and then addyng in your Calendre the nombre of the page where the name or matter is entred in your boke, the reader without any difficultie may tourne to the same.

The Vse of the first boke called a Repertory. Into this booke shall ye first entre the foundation of this Hospital, and also al dedes, obligations, acquitaunces and other specialties; vsyng alwaies in the margent of the sayde booke to note in a fewe Englyshe wordes, the somme and content of euerye article of these wrytynges that shall appiere noteworthie; and the same notes particularly to enter into their seueral and propre places of your calendre, accordyng to the order of the A.B.C.

In the book of the Survey were to be entered all matters connected with the property of the Hospital and the cost of repairs, &c.

The Vse of the third booke, called a Booke of Accomptes; was to contain all the Accomptes (being allowed by the auditours). And for the ready fyndyng of euery matter contained in euery accompt, ye shal in the margent of this boke, vse as is aforesaid, to note dyuers generall wordes, *Accomptes, prouisions, liueries, gistes, legacies, reuwardes, agreeementes, Surrenders, Bargaynes, Sutes, recoueries, pencions, Fees, &c.* Addyng to euery of these, beyng placed in your calender, the lefe wher euery of them is mencioned in any of the accomptes contained in this booke, that at a woorde may be sene what hath bene done in all these thynges, from the first Treasourour to the last. And in the ende ye shall manifestly declare the names and sirenames of so many diseased persones as that yeare haue bene cured and deliuered out of this house, and also the

names and sirenames of so many as that yeare haue died in the house. The names and sirenames also of as many as then shall remaine sycke and diseased in thys house together with the name of the shier where-in eche was borne & their faculties, exercise, or occupacions.

The Use of the .iiii. boke called a Iournall. This Booke must also haue a Calender ; & it shal alwaies be brought furthe at suche tyme as the President and moste parte of the Gouvernours shall sit within this Hospitall for the generall affaires of the same. And into this booke shall ye entre all suche orders & decrees, as from tyme to tyme shall by the sayde Gouvernours or greatest part of them be decreed and ordeined. And in the margent thereof ye shall do as before is assigned . . . in few words set furth the somme of euery decree, order &c. conteyned therein. And chiefly ye shall vse the generall woordes before described in the booke of accomptes, that by the enteraunce of them into your calender euery matter may easilie and readylic be founde. And ye shall not fayle, but in fyue dayes next after the enteraunce of any thyng into this booke, to enter the same by a generall worde in to the Calendre, that as wel when you are absent, as present, the gouernours may without difficultie be satisfied of that they seke for therein.

These admirable orders were carried out by the successive Clerks to the Hospital, with the result that Sir Norman Moore has lately been able to write a very complete history of the Hospital.

I cannot conclude this paper without expressing my thanks for the kindly assistance which I have received from Mr. Owen T. Morshead, Pepysian Librarian, of Magdalene College, Cambridge ; Mr. A. Henderson, F.S.A. (Scot.), of the University Library, Glasgow ; Lieut.-Col. Fielding H. Garrison, of the Surgeon-General's Library, Washington ; to Miss Anderson, who spent much time at the Bodleian for me when I was too busy to go there myself ; to my old friend and former teacher Mr. W. Hatchett Jackson, the Radcliffe Librarian at Oxford ; and to Mr. Bernard Kettle, of the Guildhall Library.



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